Important articles from

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN

JOINT DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY MARXIST-LENINIST AND THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA:

(July 1978)

I. On the International Situation
II. The Situation of the World Marxist-Leninist Movement

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In June, 1978, authorized representatives of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKP-ML) and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (MLPÖ) met for a fraternal discussion. The present international situation, the current situation in the world Marxist-Leninist movement, and the problems of the revolution in Turkey and Austria were discussed in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and close communist friendship.

In the course of this meeting, both sides determined - with great satisfaction - the extensive agreement between our views and standpoints, and we took this opportunity to learn from each other and to exchange the rich experiences of the struggles of the proletariat and the working masses of our countries, as well as that of their vanguard parties.

It was therefore decided to publish the following joint declaration on important problems of the international situation and the Marxist-Leninist world movement in the name of the Central Committees of both parties.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Epoch in Which We Live. The epoch in which we live today is still the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution. This epoch, which is one of dying capitalism, i.e., imperialism, is characterized by the intensification of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system - intensification to an extreme limit beyond which revolution begins.

Thereby it is decisive for this epoch that the step-by-step realization and victory of the proletarian revolution is not only an ideal nor a distant possibility, but is a current, actual problem which must be solved. The main characteristic of this epoch is that the proletarian world revolution - despite temporary setbacks - is steadily moving forward to victory, while imperialism, social-imperialism and other reactionary forces - despite temporary victories - are steadily moving towards their defeat.

In its essence, this epoch has not changed since the time of the great proletarian leaders Lenin and Stalin who scientifically analyzed and clarified the character of this epoch. And as long as the imperialist system continues to exist, the character of our epoch cannot and will not fundamentally change.

Today's World is Characterized by the Existence of Two Opposing Camps. In this epoch, the world is finally and irrevokably split into two camps. On the one side are imperialism, social-imperialism, and all reactionary forces in the world which are directly or indirectly connected to them. On the other side is the front of the proletarian world revolution, the front of the world proletariat, and the masses of people of the oppressed nations under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties.

Both of our parties agree that the proletarian world revolution is made up of different revolutionary processes in different countries which have different features according to the social and economic structure of the respective country. These different revolutionary currents work however in the same direction, and join together in the end with the common goal of the complete defeat of imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction.

The Role of the Socialist States. The socialist states, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was built and is consistently being consolidated, are powerful supports in the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all other reaction for the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale. They are the living embodiment of the hopes and strivings

of the proletariat and millions of working people for a bright future without exploitation or tyranny; they are both the product of and example of the heroic struggle with the goal of the final creation of a truly free, that is, classless communist society.

The existence and development of such states, the struggle of communists to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in these states, the successes of the masses of people under the leadership of the proletariat in building socialism, the proletarian-internationalist support given by those states in which the dictatorship of the proletariat exists, to the proletariat of the still capitalist countries as well as to all of those people fighting for national and social liberation - all of these are powerful contributions to the proletarian world revolution which has an invaluable basis in the existence of and further development of these socialist states.

It is the unconditional duty of all communists, regardless of nationality, to view these outstanding centers of the world revolution as their own revolutionary fatherland, to regard all matters of these countries as their own, and to protect and defend these states - with all means - against all forms of attack, whether from external or from internal reactionaries.

The Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania: The Bright Beacon of Socialism. From this standpoint, it follows that both our parties will do everything in our power to propagate as broadly as possible and to support this bright beacon of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as to decisively defend her against all enmity and attacks.

Likewise, neither of our parties regard the grave events which have taken place in the Peoples' Republic of China with indifference; nor have we taken a "wait-and-see" type of attitude towards these events. Rather we feel obliged to raise our voices and to make our contribution in the struggle for the defense and restoration of the revolutionary accomplishments and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The Struggle of the Proletariat in the Capitalist Metropoles. The struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist (and social-imperialist) metropoles constitutes an important part of the world-revolutionary process. In this struggle, the proletariat stands in irreconciliable contradiction to the imperialist (and social-imperialist) bourgeoisie. In these countries, there is no national bourgeoisie of a similar or the same type as existed or still exists in the semi-colonial semi-feudal countries. The bourgeoisie in these former countries has long become imperialistic, has lost all of its progressive possibilities, can neither partially nor temporarily be a partner or ally of the revolutionary forces. In these countries, it is the immediate task of the proletariat to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus through a socialist revolution of the armed masses of people under the leadership of the proletariat. The MLPÖ has determined that Austria belongs to this group of countries.

In these imperialist countries, the bourgeoisie has been able to and is still able to at times corrupt considerable sections of the working class through super-profits extracted by the direct and indirect exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries; to create levels of a worker-aristocracy and worker-bureaucracy; and to harness these sections for the bourgeoisie's own exploitative goals. These different strata (of the working class) which is bound to their "own" bourgeoisie for better or worse, are the decisive representatives of the various ideologies of opportunism, reformism and the different varieties of old and new revision-

ism. Their strivings, which constantly take on new forms, can be partially and temporarily successful in duping the workers and all working people, and in holding them back from the revolutionary struggle, but in the long run, this cannot last for long. The facts increasingly and clearly show that the class struggle of the proletariat and of the rest of the working people in the imperialist countries cannot be stifled, rather that it is increasingly intensifying and will continue to intensify as the crisis of the capitalist-imperialist system deepens and as this system reveals its undisguised reactionary, parasitic and inhuman character. For the Marxist-Leninist parties of these countries, increasing possibilities arise for bringing revolutionary socialist consciousness to the working class, to mobilize the working class and other working people for the revolutionary struggle and to, in general, organize.

The Struggle of the Masses of People in the Colonial/Semi-Colonial Countries. The struggle of the masses of people in the colonial/semi-colonial countries for national and social liberation comprises another very important part of the process of the proletarian world revolution. In these countries the masses of people struggle, under the leadership of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party, against imperialism and its native lackeys, namely against the comprador bourgeoisie and feudal lords. In the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in many colonial/semi-colonial countries, the liquidation of feudalism, which represents the main prop of imperialism in the broad rural areas, is the most important task of the revolution. In such countries, the agrarian revolution is the main link. The TKP-ML has determined that Turkey belongs to this group of countries.

The Relationship Of the Great Currents of the World Revolution to One Another. On a world scale today, the struggles of the masses of people in the colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism are increasingly intensifying and the revolutionary struggle in these areas has taken on much sharper forms than the class struggle in the metropoles. But from that, it should not be concluded that the revolution in the imperialist countries is unilaterally dependent on the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Certainly no less incorrect and misleading is the opposite notion that the revolutionary movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are unilaterally dependent on the revolutions in the imperialist metropoles. The chauvinistic European tendency to replace the correct demand that the international proletariat lead the proletarian world revolution by the viewpoint that it is allegedly up to the proletariat of the metropoles to direct the struggles of the oppressed peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies must be decisively struggled against and entirely repudiated.

The Hegemony of the Proletariat is Irrevokable. In our epoch, the revolutionary uprisings of the masses of people in imperialism's colonies and semi-colonies cannot lead to actual independence from imperialism unless they are led by the proletariat of the country involved and by its vanguard party as part of the proletarian world revolution. That does not exclude that certain uprisings which do not take place under proletarian leadership can still temporarily weaken imperialism or social-imperialism. In this case, such revolutionary movements are direct reserves of the proletarian world revolution, and are to be supported, but one shouldn't nurture any illusions about the limitations of this potential nor about the instability and short-lived success of these movements.

Therefore, all of the following revolutionary processes:

- -the struggle for the construction of socialism, the struggle to consolidate and perfect the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist countries;

-the struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist metropoles for socialism;
-the struggle of the masses of people in imperialism's colonies and semi-colonies for the new democratic revolution;

all of these revolutionary processes wear away the imperialist world system, supplement and mutually support each other directly and indirectly.

The Camp of Counter-Revolution. Regarding the camp of international counter-revolution: Today's situation is characterized by the fact that this camp is deeply split. Of course, all imperialists, social-imperialists and other lackeys, as well as all reactionaries in general are united in their striving to oppress the revolutionary movement in the whole world with all available means. Although they constantly and extensively work together in this direction, they come, nonetheless, to blows when the booty must be divided up. For this reason neither collusion nor rivalry should be seen as absolute within this camp, and in any case, both always go on at the expense of the masses of people.

U.S. Imperialism and Russian Social-Imperialism are Equally Aggressive and Dangerous. In view of their size, and the quantitative difference between them and the other imperialist powers, the U.S. imperialists and Russian social-imperialists stand out in the counter-revolutionary camp. They are presently the biggest international exploiters, weapon-dealers, and world gendarmes, all areas in which however, other imperialist big powers are evidently moving closer to them. In order to correctly evaluate the role of U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, it is fundamentally important to recognize them as equally reactionary, aggressive and dangerous. Revolutionaries must, therefore, struggle against them in an equally irreconciliable, uncomprimising and determined manner.

Against the Construction of Fundamental Differences Between the Imperialist Powers. Both of our parties not only reject all construction of qualitative, that is to say, fundamental differences, between U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism as necessarily leading to opportunistic deviations, but we also put great value in stressing that a qualitative difference or contrast between both of the biggest imperialist robbers (on the one hand) and the rest of the imperialist powers (on the other hand) should not by any means be presumed to exist. The drive to expand, the readiness to aggression, the striving to re-divide the world in their own favor, the struggle to attain world hegemony - by all possible means, including imperialist war - are part of the nature of imperialism and are characteristics shared by all imperialist powers. World imperialism as an entity is our enemy and not only one or two among the big imperialist powers. Therefore, it is impossible to carry out a real anti-imperialist struggle if one takes a position on the side of one or on that of the other rival groups of imperialists, if one or the other momentarily appears to be, or actually is, weaker. It is the task of communists, to make this constantly clear to the masses of people using concrete examples and facts, in order to strike down the attempts of the various imperialist wolves to appear in sheeps' clothing, and to spread illusions about their real essence, and to pursue further their peace-demagogy.

The Concept "Superpower" Causes More Harm than Good. In this context, both our parties express the opinion that the designation "superpower" for U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism is highly questionable and dangerous in so far as it falsely leads to the assumption of a qualitative and fundamental difference between U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism on the one hand and the rest of the imperialist powers on the

other hand. As the facts show, this conceptual category causes more damage rather than being useful; it stirs up confusion and spreads illusions about all big imperialist powers which are not said to be "superpowers".

The Other Imperialist Powers. Both our parties see it as necessary to call attention to the dangerous development of such big imperialist powers as Japan, England, France and particularly to West Germany, all of which are characterized by steadily increasing armaments spending and growing external-directed expansion and aggression, often which goes hand-in-hand with the increasing tendency towards fascism at home. The forced export of capital by these powers, their intensive economic expansion in important parts of the world, their intensifying exploitation of the colonial/semi-colonial and dependent countries - which today takes place under the deceitful guise of "close cooperation" with the countries of the so-called "third world" - should not be underestimated.

West German Imperialism, Militarism and Revanchism. Of particular importance in this context is the revival and constant driving forward of West German imperialism, militarism and revanchism (drive for revenge) in Europe as well as on other continents. West German imperialism, which is grossly underestimated by many, continues to pursue its expansionist goals which remained unfullfilled in the course of the two world wars it lost. West German imperialism ruthlessly exploits its key location in Western Europe as well as its great economic potential and its chance to undertake enormous militarization under the pretense of carrying out a "peaceful political course". In its internal tendency towards fascism and in its military operations in foreign countries - allegedly carried out to protect its own security and the "freedom" of the other NATO countries - West German imperialism plays an "avant-garde" role in Western Europe.

West German imperialism presents a real danger for all the peoples of the world, particulary for the European peoples. In Austria and Turkey it is increasingly gaining ground and expanding its political and economic weight and influence. As Comrade Stalin predicted already in 1952, West German imperialism has once again become one of the biggest imperialist powers and an independently dangerous war-monger, following the law of uneven development of the imperialist countries. The necessity of the world-wide struggle against U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism should not in the least lead to negligence of the struggle against the world-wide advancement of West German imperialism and other imperialist powers.

The Danger of a New World War. Regarding the danger of a new world war, our two parties stress that:

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's conclusion that either the revolution prevents war or war brings about the revolution is fundamentally and in a world-wide sense still correct.

That means, in our opinion, that the outbreak of a new world war can only be stopped by the determined democratic and revolutionary struggle of the people, and only through successful revolutions in the crucial countries can a new imperialist world war be prevented.

That means, furthermore, that in the event the outbreak of war cannot be prevented, it is the task of the Marxist-Leninists of any given country to turn the imperialist war into civil war; in the imperialist countries with the direct goal of proletarian revolution; and in the colonial/semi-colonial countries in the form of an anti-imperialist national war of liberation with the goal of a new democratic revolution.

The struggle of the imperialists for a re-division of the world and for world domination, which is currently driving towards a new imperialist world war, is today particularly the competition between the western imperialist powers of the U.S.-led NATO block and the revisionist states joined together in the Warsaw Pact with the Soviet Union at the head. Just because U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism stand out in bringing about the danger of an imperialist world war does not mean that the other imperialist powers do not play an important role with their own thoroughly aggressive plans and expansionist actions; nor does this mean that they are not also dangerous war-mongers.

In the imperialist countries therefore, the struggle against a new world war must be carried out by struggling against war drives and preparations by the "native" bourgeoisie. If the struggle is not carried out in this way, it would not be possible to seriously undertake the tasks of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war and to lead the struggle against imperialist war with the decisive goal of the proletarian revolution constantly in the foreground.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the various countries should not, under any circumstances, neglect the struggle against the outbreak of a new imperialist world war; rather they must put it in a foremost position in that they expose war preparations on their own front within the class struggle, in that they denounce the war-mongers and their lackeys especially in their own country, and in that they lead the struggle against them.

By the same token, our two parties regard it as the duty of all genuine communist parties to take a stand against war hysteria which leads to class collaboration and betrayal of the revolution and which spreads the completely false notion that a new world war is the impending and inevitable fate of humanity and cannot be prevented, even through peoples' struggle. This world-war type of fatalism - although it appears to be opposed to the social-democratic and revisionist propaganda ("the irreversible development of world peace" and "a new world war is unthinkable!") - essentially has the same goal as this propaganda: to lame the struggle of the masses of people against imperialism and to bring them to a renunciation of revolution.

II. THE SITUATION OF THE WORLD MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

The Subjective Factor Must be Raised to the Level of the Objective Possibilities. The TKP-ML and the MLPÖ agree that on a world scale today, the objective factors of revolution are in general developing favorably, but that the development of the subjective factors are not keeping pace with the objective factors, are tailing behind the objective factors and do not correspond to the requirements and to the possibilities presented by our times. In this sense, self-satisfaction, peaceful reflection and euphoria are completely out of place. Revolutionaries can hardly rely on history to run its own course; instead everything depends on bringing the revolutionary subjective factor, the consciousness and organization of the working class and other working people to the necessary level through the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties in each country, in order to make the existing possibilities a reality.

The Struggle Against Krushchev Revisionism. The betrayal of the modern Krushchev revisionists had very heavy consequences in the weakening of the Marxist-Leninist forces. The attacks by the modern Krushchev revisionists on all basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, particularly their wild slander campaign against the individual as well as the works of Comrade Stalin, the systematic transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the

Soviet Union and in other formerly socialist countries into reactionary dictatorships of new exploiting classes, the splittist, undermining and divisive activities of the Krushchev revisionists within the traditional communist parties of all countries - this all did a great deal of damage to the world Marxist-Leninist movement. Despite this, the movement has shown its indestructible vitality and capacity to regenerate; it has re-formed in struggle against Krushchev revisionism and it has had significant success in the course of more than a decade of intense struggle.

A New Opportunist Trend Arises. But within the newly-formed Marxist-Leninist world movement which took up the struggle against modern-type Krushchev revisionism, a new and dangerous trend of modern revisionism has developed, which is being vehemently pushed by the present leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The Chinese Communist Party has forced the Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary forces of all countries to take an open and unequivocal position on this issue in that they hold the so-called "Theory of the Three Worlds" up as their banner and in that they spread this theory as the single correct new "strategy of the world Communist movement".

The "Theory of the Three Worlds" is Counter-Revolutionary and Must Be Completely Defeated. Our two parties vigorously declare the so-called "Three Worlds Theory" to be deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism and counter-revolutionary. We reject this schema which is incompatible with a proletarian class standpoint. We reject it as a whole as well as all of its components and we stress the necessity of carrying out a decisive struggle against this theory until it has been completely exposed and its influence totally destroyed. The "Theory of the Three Worlds" is based on the denial of class struggle, a denial of the character of our epoch, the denial of the historic mission of the world proletariat and of the proletariat in each individual country, the denial of the development of the essential contradictions which define our epoch, the denial of the necessity of revolution, and it completely confuses friend with enemy. To put it shortly, the "Three Worlds Theory" - whether as model, as theoretical concept, or as strategy - exclusively serves the counter-revolution on a world scale as well as in each individual country. It represents the most massive attack on Marxism-Leninism within the world Communist movement since Krushchev revisionism.

This attack not only gave the Krushchevite revisionists new material for an attack of their own, it also temporarily led honest revolutionaries and conscious Marxist-Leninists astray and led to serious mistakes which must be consciously uncovered, analyzed, and corrected.

In this context, both of our parties have summed up, in the spirit of self-criticism, that we also recognized the essence of this "Three Worlds Theory" rather late so that we temporarily accepted and propagated important theses of this theory, although we carried out an increasingly vigorous struggle against the capitualationist ramifications of the schema of the "Three Worlds". This mistake was not only the result of some theoretical unclarity, but also a part of the false understanding of solidarity with the Chinese Communist Party and an incorrect understanding of the necessities in the preservation of the unity of our world movement.

The PLA's Seventh Party Congress - An Historical Turning Point. Our two parties view Comrade Enver Hoxha's report at the 7th Party Congress of the PLA as a powerful contribution in the struggle against the newly-arisen opportunist trends in general and in particular, against the "Three Worlds' Theory". At the same time, however, we think that the struggle against these revisionist tendencies, which are joined under the banner of the "Three Worlds' Theory", is just beginning.

We believe that Marxist-Leninists are faced today with a very important task, that of fundamentally and completely refuting and exposing the "Three Worlds' Theory", of researching and unearthing its historical roots as well as completely eliminating the passing influence of this "theory" and of its individual theses from our own ranks, which still has not been done on a broad scale. In the course of fulfilling this task, which involves a broad international campaign against opportunism in a new form, against revisionism and social-chauvinism, fraternal conferences between individual Marxist-Leninist parties, bilateral and multi-lateral meetings and principled joint positions and declarations could be of important help. It is decisive however, that every individual party contribute the maximum and above all, that every party pursue and defeat these new opportunist currents in its own area of influence.

A position on the "Theory of the Three Worlds" as a whole as well as on its singular theses, and the consistency and resoluteness of the struggle against it, is one of the most important tests today - although certainly not the only one - which separates real Marxist-Leninists from the opportunists who mask themselves as pseudo Marxist-Leninists.

Both of our parties view it as imperative to take notice of the tendency on the part of many forces who have criticized and rejected the "Three Worlds' Theory" not to thoroughly and self-critically break with this reactionary theory, but instead to retain individual theses of this schema and to further propagate them. We see this as a retreat in the face of opportunism and as the assumption of a conciliatory and centrist position towards it.

On the Terms "Superpowers" and "Main Enemy on an International Scale".

The TKP-ML and the MLPÖ see it as extremely necessary to subject the terms "superpowers" and "main enemy on an international scale" to critical tests. The concept "superpower", which treats the individual big imperialist powers as a special category and contrasts them with the other imperialist powers, is obviously a direct and essential part of the schema of the "three worlds" and thereby directly introduces the revisionist construction of a "first world". The direct relationship to the "Three Worlds' Theory" becomes even clearer in the thesis that the "two superpowers" are the "main enemy on an international scale". This thesis obliterates and negates the decisive and fundamental fact, that our struggle must always be aimed at world imperialism as a whole - also in the course of all partial offensives and individual actions. This thesis leads to the mistaken view that the other imperialist powers are not real enemies or that they could even temporarily be friends or partners. From this thesis that the "two superpowers" are the "main enemy on a world scale", it is only a small, almost imperative step to the claim that the balance of forces between the two big imperialist robbers - which certainly isn't always the same - has changed in favor of one over the other, so that the one imperialism becomes the "main enemy on a world scale" and all of the other imperialist powers, if not actual temporary allies, are not real enemies.

The decisive step which led to such low-level type of argumentation was, in our opinion, the absolutely unacceptable transfer of concepts which may have been appropriate in relation to individual questions such as the question of the danger of world war, to the whole question of the proletarian world revolution. One can without a doubt speak of a "main enemy on a world scale" in relation to the danger of world war and in this sense, this concept was used on the eve of the Second World War. But, in our viewpoint, in relation to the whole question of the proletarian world revolution, the "main enemy on a world scale" can only be world imperialism.

The Necessity of Open Discussion and Criticism. Both of our parties are convinced that the struggle against the various forms of revisionism and especially against its newest appearance in the international arena, can only be effectively carried out when a spirit of lively exchange of opinion, candid discussion and open mutual criticism among Marxist-Leninist parties prevails. We see this as one of the most decisive forms of mutual help and support. Along these lines exists the shining tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as that of the Communist International, and it would be valuable for us to join in this tradition.

Regarding the questions of the form of the struggle against opportunism and the irreconciliability of this struggle as well as the question of the norms governing the relationships between Marxist-Leninist brother parties and forces, we should turn to examples from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and we should revive the revolutionary heritage of the Third International. In both areas of discussion, there is no place for "diplomacy", and it should be rejected.

Study the Classics More Thoroughly! Both parties would like to stress the pressing necessity, in view of the current situation, of thorough and extensive study of the immortal classics of Marxism-Leninism, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in the original and not only in the form of secondary literature, and of the evaulation and propagation of these classics. The great works of Comrade Stalin in particular - which are of immense current value and will remain so - must be offensively defended against all opportunist and revisionist attacks.

For A Clear, All-around Evaluation of the Works of Mao Tse-Tung. On the basis of defending the teachings of Marxism-Leninism which include those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, it is also necessary to take up a clear and principled position on Comrade Mao Tse-tung. On this question, the TKP-ML and the MLPÖ have determined:

1.) Comrade Mao Tse-tung brought forth imperishable historical accomplishments in the victory of the new democratic revolution and the construction of socialism in China; he also made outstanding contributions to Marxism-Leninism and to the triumph of Communism on a world scale. All genuine Marxist-Leninists must gratefully evaluate this revolutionary Marxist-Leninist heritage of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, particularly his historical contributions to the theory and practice of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries, to the question of the new democratic revolution, to the strategy and tactic of peoples' war, etc. and they must defend these contributions in the struggle against all revisionists who misuse his name and who shamelessly falsify and distort his teachings.

Both our parties stress this once again and at the same time reject all attempts to define our present epoch as something other as the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution and all attempts to construct an alleged "epoch of Mao Tse-tung Thought" which goes against Leninism. We also take up struggle against all attempts - under the hypocritical pretense of praise of Mao Tse-tung - to transfer his teachings on the new democratic revolution and on the revolution in China in general in a crude and uncritical manner to all countries in the world and even to the character of the course of the world revolution, in which case the teachings of Leninism are regarded as "out of date" and are allegedly revised.

Further, the TKP-ML and the MLPÖ recognize with great gratitude the irrefutable fact of world-historical importance, that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the world-changing great Chinese revolution made significant contributions in the struggle against Krushchev revisionism and later, at the helm of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he dealt heavy blows to revisionism in China as well as to international revisionism, blows which today still call forth cries of rage.

2.) We stress at the same time, that the belief that the revisionist deviations in the line of the C.P.C. "achieved influence only after the death of Comrade Mao Tse-tung" expresses a dangerous underestimation of the extent and depth of the problems and for this reason, must be rejected. In our opinion, the roots of the revisionist deviations in the line of the C.P.C. can be traced back over a long period of time which also includes the lifetime of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. These roots can also be found in certain of Mao's individual viewpoints. In this sense and as Chairman of the Communist Party of China for many years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung does carry a certain amount of co-responsibility.

But in our opinion, all of this still gives no one the right to suddenly rank together and list either the alleged or the actual mistakes of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in an unserious, irresponsible, one-sided and demagogic manner, in order to make or at least to suggest an overall negative judgment (of Mao Tse-tung). Such an unprincipled "critique" of Mao Tse-tung, which resembles in method those used by bourgeois journalism, stands not only in sharp contradiction to historical truth; it is also doing a pronounced favor for all revisionists who, under the demagogical banner of the application of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" falsify and throw overboard everything which constitutes the lasting revolutionary content of the works of Mao Tse-tung. In addition, it isn't by chance that exactly those who were the biggest flatterers and exorbitant glorifiers of the personage of Mao Tse-tung and who exulted "Mao Tse-tung Thought" as the Leninism of our epoch, pose today as the "accusers" of Mao Tse-tung and publish catalogues of his mistakes. In one way or another they expose their unprincipled opportunism which make them capable of all possible twists and turns (in ideology).

3.) Finally, both of our parties emphasize that a fundamental and all-encompassing scientific evaluation of the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung has not yet been undertaken despite its importance for the entire Marxist-Leninist world movement and for each of its individual parties. Both parties stress that since no sufficient nor comprehensive documents are available especially from the last years of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's life, and because those documents which are available are fragmentary, often contradictory, if not directly questionable in their authenticity, an evaluation of this period is not possible today. In view of this, both of our parties stand for an all-encompassing and exact investigation of the contributions and mistakes of Mao Tse-tung and we will contribute to this investigation, corresponding to our forces and the possibilities at hand.

On the Relationships Between Marxist-Leninist Parties. Regarding the relationships of Marxist-Leninist organizations to one another, both our parties stand for the consistent application of proletarian internationalism.

We view it as our duty to mutually support one another as well as to support all other Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in the world. We view it particularly as our duty to support, according to our forces, the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania, which today represents the international bulwark of socialism and to defend it against all attacks. We declare that we will do all possible to advance and protect the fighting unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both of our parties stand for an effective and not only a formal equality among all Marxist-Leninist parties, and we reject all types of mother party-daughter party relationships. We represent the standpoint that in view of current conditions of the absence of a common international organization, each party should take up and nurture its relationships to other Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in terms of its own experiences, knowledge and judgment.

Both of our parties are of the opinion that a much more lively and candid exchange of opinions should go on among Marxist-Leninist parties, that the revolutionary principle of open fraternal criticism should be more broadly practised among one another, and specifically, that open questions and differences of opinion should be discussed thoroughly and without timidity.

The uniting of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and forces on an international level on a common and principled basis as well as the joint composition and determination of the correct international strategy and tactic present us with an important and pressing task. But we see this task only as resolvable if we are not satisfied with the status quo of current relationships and mutual "recognition", only if we fundamentally examine the present system of these relationships and bring it to the level of current possibilities and requirements. Every party must conscientiously make its contribution in this direction.

The Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria. The TKP-ML and the MLPÖ have decided to deepen and build-up our relationship to one another which is still young, to remain in regular contact with one another and to work together in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We view this cooperation as a contribution to the struggle for unity in the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement and as an important source of strength in the fulfillment of our tasks in our respective countries.

Our two designated parties declare our close bonds and solidarity in the struggle for the fulfillment of the historical tasks which we face:

- in the struggle of the peoples of different nationalities under the leadership of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party against imperialism, comprador-capitalism, and feudalism, for a peoples' democracy in Turkey;

- in the struggle of the working class and the struggle of the working masses led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party against the bourgeoisie and all reaction, for a socialist revolution in Austria.

Long live the TKP-ML! Long live the MLPÖ!

Long live all Marxist-Leninist parties, organizations and forces in the world!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples of all the world, unite!

Long live the proletarian world revolution and proletarian internationalism!

Down with revisionism and opportunism of all shades!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Central Committee of the TKP-ML — Central Committee of the MLPÖ

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V.i.S.d.